1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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863 [278 386] side, where it is allowed to "ripen" for use as medicine, "soap," or as a mordant. Infant excretions on the dirt floor of a *ruka* are treated with calm indifference. On one occasion I watched a little boy being held by his mother while he vomited into the fireplace. No one, except this observer, seemed greatly concerned.

854 515 863 Although the Araucanians are no longer addicted to bathing in icy streams, as was their ancient custom, mothers still prefer to wash their small youngsters in cold water and to wrap them warmly afterward. Children are bathed often, and the laundering of their clothing is an important feminine occupation. The urine of young boys is highly esteemed for cleaning and shampooing and is said to be particularly good for cleansing the hair of dandruff and vermin. It is rinsed off with water and soap.[18]

856 When a child is between six and nine months old it is taken from its cradleboard and allowed to crawl on all fours. Soon thereafter it is taught to walk, guided and encouraged by its mother, perhaps with the help of two parallel bamboo rails set at a convenient height.[19]

855 757 As is to be expected, Araucanian children suffer from numerous ailments. When a youngster is ill he is kept indoors close by the fire, and his mother gives him such home treatments as she can. If these fail she may call in a more experienced woman, who examines the child and prescribes additional remedies. The term for medicine is *l·awen*, and two of the most popular items are *piukel·awen*[20] ("heart-medicine"), and *liq-l·awen* ("white-medicine"), tentatively identified as quinoa, which is supposed to be good for stomach ailments.

Decoctions of aromatic plants like ginger and cinnamon are

[824] [18] Several informants confirmed the uses of urine as here given. Those who do not have soap may use a saponaceous plant, *kül·a*, identified in Augusta (1916, I: 104) as *Chusquea* spec.

[19] Housse, 1939, p. 255. I was told about this device, but I had no opportunity to see it in use. It is described and pictured in Joseph, 1933, pp. 714–15.

[20] Augusta (1916, I: 185) identified it as *Linum selaginoides* Lam., family Linaceae.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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also widely used in curing. A patient who runs a fever is bathed in water tinctured with fragrant leaves, massaged, wrapped in clean clothes, and put to bed. Swellings and inflammation are counteracted by the external application of burnt earth and ashes, taken from the fireplace and compounded with herbs. Similar mixtures are taken internally as a remedy for indigestion. So far as could be discovered, a professional shaman is never called in to treat a sick child under the age of puberty, nor are youngsters ever made the subjects of the elaborate and expensive curing rites known as *machitun*. If an infant dies it is promptly buried without much ceremony and is, apparently, soon forgotten.

Araucanians of today are very fond of their offspring and indulge their desires; they seldom scold or strike them. Only if children are exceptionally troublesome are they sometimes punished by slapping or whipping with a leather strap. Old-fashioned as well as modern child training puts great stress on the inculcation of respect. Children were taught to show respect to all their elders, and more particularly to the fathers of families, especially if they happened to be *loñkos*. Youngsters of either sex who showed disrespect by eating before their elders or by taking things without permission used to be punished by snatching or pinching at their genitals. (Incidentally, gripping a man's testicles, *lolotun*, was a common trick in fighting; and co-wives, *mũriwen*, occasionally punished a bad husband in this manner. This was a sanctioned procedure and was not supposed to lead to reprisals.)

Children were also taught not to lie or steal, never to desert their relatives, not to become too intimate with strangers, not to eavesdrop, and never to enter or look into strange houses. They were strongly cautioned against leaving home after dark, and those who disobeyed were told that *ñunechen* ("God") would cut short their lives; or else that an evil spirit, *añchimallen*, would snatch away their shadows (souls).

Until very recently bad little boys or girls were frightened by the sudden appearance of a man wearing a black mask, *koloñ*.[21]

[21] Typical masks are figured in Joseph, 1931*a*, p. 72.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

feast, in more recent times at least, a white lamb was sacrificed, some of its blood sprinkled in the four cardinal directions, and the rest poured into a hole in the ground where the severed umbilical cord was deposited. South of Toltén, a tree was planted at the name-giving feast of a male child. The name of a female child could not be mentioned lest she die. (On kuga names, see supra under Kinship, p. 723.)

Two types of cradle were used (fig. 78): a portable one, of two longitudinal arms connected with boards or else a netted frame, with bow; and a swinging "hammock" type (illustrated in: Smith, 1855, p. 213; Latcham, 1909, pls. 34–35; cf. Moesbach, 1936, pp. 186–88 for description).

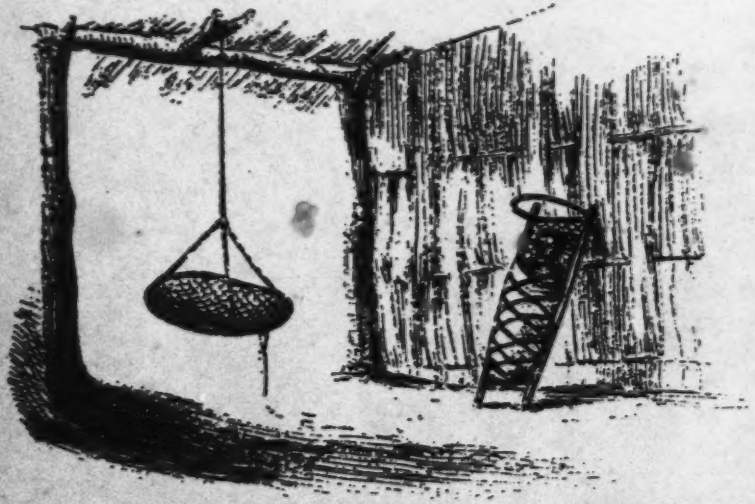

FIGURE 78.—*Mapuche* cradles. (After Smith, 1855, p. 213.)

After childbirth, cohabitation of husband with wife was not resumed until weaning, which did not take place until all the child's teeth were cut (Latcham, 1909, p. 360), or until a year after birth or, if the child was weak, 18 months or more (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 713).

Both abortion and infanticide occurred, but how commonly is not clear. Guninde (1936, passim) lists about a dozen different plant abortifacients. Deformed offspring and one of twins were done away with, by being thrown into the water or suffocated with mud (Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:241–42; 1908, p. 222). Félix José (1916, 1:91) lists the verb koftun, meaning to kill an infant and roast its testicles in a heated pot, as done sometimes by an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her unfaithful lover—so making him impotent (Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 222; 1929, 2:242). The present writer has come across no specific mention of contraceptive practices; apparently in recent

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a horn of gold. Sleep, baby, sleep; sleep, baby sleep. Already the cow with the silver tail is coming. Sleep, baby, sleep." (2) "Sleep, baby, sleep, with the little shoes, through St. John of God. Look! There comes the cow with the silvery horn. Sleep, baby, sleep. There comes the bull with his golden star. Sleep, baby, sleep." (3) "Sleep, sleep, baby. See, I have work to do. My little machine calls me with its triqui traca. Be quiet, be quiet, baby, sleep. Sleep, to please God. See I have work to do." (4) "Sleep, baby. I have much to do: I must wash your diapers and sit down to sew."

TEETHING, CREEPING, WALKING, TALKING, LAUGHING

The appearance of a child's first tooth is taken notice of but does not designate a specific period of physical development. Parents, however, express satisfaction because their child is developing normally, and may say, "That child is growing up right." Rarely does the family give it any further attention, or consider it an event. In Coñaripe area an occasional family slaughters a sheep and invites neighbors that are friends, or "if the mother has relatives, like a brother or an aunt or an uncle in the neighborhood, she will invite them to come to eat, saying, 'My child has its first tooth.'" In Alepúe area anyone happening to be in a ruka when it is noticed that a child has its first tooth will be treated to yerba maté.

The mother washes the gums of a teething child, morning and evening, with a wad of wool soaked in a decoction of limpia plata to which alum is added, or salt, if no alum is at hand. The child is not given a hard substance on which to bite.

In Coñaripe it is customary to put the first deciduous tooth dropped by a child into safekeeping and to add others as they drop out. When all have fallen out, they are buried in the floor of the ruka, "such as in a corner or close to one of those poles [supporting the roof] where no one walks. These teeth are a part of the human being and contain part of his spirit. They are buried in this manner so that when the person dies, his spirit will not need to go around looking for the rest of himself. No, they are not put into a container or piece of cloth; they are buried just the way they are." In Alepúe area the child throws each tooth as it falls out into a chupón. "No animal will attempt to get in there because the blades of the plant have sharp points." The child will say in Araucanian, as it throws a tooth, "Little mouse, little mouse, give me a new tooth; a nicer one than this old one."

If the first deciduous tooth has fallen out and the others are slow in doing so, the mother rubs a preparation along the child's gums. In

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855 Cofaripe area it is a mixture of juice of the inner bark of the álamo and salt. "It smarts, but soon the teeth drop out without pain. The first set of teeth is not the real set; it must come out."

856 The child creeps before it walks; it is expected to creep when about a year old. The mother of a 2-year-old boy explained that her child's left side had been lame since birth; except for this "he should be walking by now and no longer creeping." Creeping is usually done on hands and feet. "A healthy child always crawls on all fours." An occasional child slides along on a hip; a sickly one "may slouch along, sitting down." Having been tied to a cradleboard does not incapacitate the child for creeping.

Walking is an event in human development.—So are the ability to carry out an order, puberty (which ends childhood), and marriage.—"It is an important thing in any human life to be able to walk." It is not celebrated, however. From birth until the child is able to walk, it is spoken of as "a small child" (pichiche); as soon as it walks alone, as "the small child walks now" (pichiche ŋaillai). An endearing expression used by the mother with reference to her son who has just learned to walk is "My little boy is growing up now" (pichi altaweñi); with reference to her daughter "she is little woman now" (pichi domo).

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862 If a child does not walk when about two years old, it is helped to learn to do so. A 2-year-old boy was given such help during an interview. His mother supported him under his armpits while his 5-year-old sister swung one of his legs forward and then the other. Having done this a few times, she slid backward and coaxed her little brother to move toward her. The interpreter had seen a mother put a stinging insect, agrillo (kuniŋ kuniŋ), under the knee of a child that was not making a normal attempt to walk. To get away from the sting of the grillo the child took steps forward.

Sometimes a child learns to walk by being put into a small homemade 3-wheeled pushcart. The framework of the cart is of armpit height and is made of quila. It is topped off with two boards upon which the child rests its arms. The wheels are cross sections of a young tree trunk. "My sister has a little boy in such a cart now."

856 Parents take notice of a child's first laugh and first words, "and are glad the child is growing up right, but no one celebrates the events." A mother will say with joy, "Now, my baby speaks. Everybody in the family will be glad and pass the word along; it means the child is normal." Nothing was done to assist the child in developing early speech. "If we knew of anything to do, we would do it for my brother. He is older than 2 years and can speak only a few words."

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were badly crippled," she said. " I massaged them, and also his head, for his fontanels were far apart. I kept a band tied about his head. He would not nurse until he was two days old. To wean him I gave him solid foods—he choked on these. In fact, he choked on food until he was seven years old. Whenever he did so, I reached into his throat with two fingers [indicated third and fourth] and removed the food. Some women used to chide me for not having poked my fingers down his throat when he was a baby and thus cleared his throat for always, then. But it was not our custom to do that."

In Chan Chan of Alepúe area, children were born with soft bones, a condition non-Araucanian herbalists believed due to calcium deficiency. Four such children were born to one couple; two to each of three others; and one to another. All but one of the 11 children died when two or three years of age; one lived to be six.

A non-Araucanian herbalist told of a child, who was then one year old, whose parents kept it hidden from view because they were ashamed of its deformed face. The child, when a few months old, had fallen into the fire while tied to its cradle, the mother having left a small child to tend the baby while she went to fetch water. Because of a scar the child's lower eyelid was drawn out of position.

No crippled children or adults were seen during the present study. A non-Araucanian who had lived 50 years among the Araucanians was certain that no crippled child had been killed in recent years, but he knew with certainty that formerly a child born crippled or one thought mentally so weak as to leave no hope of normal development was killed. Cooper's source states that deformed children were thrown into the water or were suffocated with mud, as were children born out of wedlock (1946, p. 733).

A sick child is given herbal decoctions made of household remedies of the kinds given to adults, only in smaller or diluted dosages. "Every mother knows what to give." If these fail, an Araucanian woman herbalist is sent for. Formerly, if the remedies of the Araucanian herbalists were not effective, parents called in a machi to perform a machitun. In recent years a non-Araucanian herbalist is usually called in before the machi is, but if no cure is forthcoming, the machi is invited to take over. A machitun had been performed over 3 of 53 school children in Alepúe area. A baby's first and subsequent baths are thought to insure good health.

No Araucanian was known to have been born blind; nor was a case of blindness known to non-Araucanian herbalists except an Alepúe woman who lost the sight of an infected eye when she was 2 years old. Wall-eyed children and adults were frequently seen in all areas. Deafness is very rare; no case of total deafness was known.

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could not have happened very easily when I was a girl," said a woman older than 100 years; "mothers watched over their girls then. Parents would not have wanted a son to marry a girl that had a 'natural' child—parents, you know, arranged for the marriage of their sons in those days."

Illegitimacy in a family lowered the status of the family in the community. The expectant unmarried mother was scolded by her parents; sometimes whipped by her father. "No one would have blamed her parents if they had hanged her." Usually, however, the parents said nothing, blaming themselves. Everybody in the family was ashamed; conversation by family members became almost nil; quietly everyone waited for the months to pass until the arrival of the baby. The cacique had the right to take the life of the paramour, if the girl's parents insisted that he do so. Girls, knowing this, usually protected the man by refusing to identify him.

If the unmarried mother was not accepted by her parents, she delivered her child away from home, usually in the woods, where she was assisted by a friend. If she delivered it in her home, it was reared there. "What else could they do?" Sometimes the child was reared by grandparents or other sympathetic adults. According to Argentine law, a child born out of wedlock may bear its father's name, a custom taken over by present-day Araucanians.

Informants lamented the present-day increase of children born out of wedlock. "Today there are girls who are only 12 years old who have a 'natural' child."

DEFORMED CHILDREN, INFANTICIDE, SICK CHILDREN

Rarely was a child born deformed. One had been born with only one finger; one with only a thumb and first finger on its left hand; one with a harelip; one with defective hearing; one had faulty teeth from babyhood on; an occasional child is not able to walk at the proper age. "What could parents do about it? They had to take the child as it came." No child was known to have been born with polydactyl digits. Infanticide was not practiced.

A child that cries only occasionally is looked upon as a normal child, and no attention is paid to its crying. During an interview a child less than 2 years old cried because its grandaunt, who often coddled it, left the house. Elders merely laughed, and let it cry. But a child that cries persistently is thought to be sick, that is, to have something wrong with its intestinal tract. It is given either dehydrated powdered lining of the crop of chicken or rhea, preferably rhea, or its own

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dehydrated powdered navel cord which the mother had stored for this purpose. Sometimes a specific medicinal decoction for intestinal disturbances is given, such as is given to adults, but greatly diluted. A baby that is sick because of teething has its gums treated (cf. p. 276). Until recent years a ceremonial known as machitun (pp. 323-324) was performed over a critically sick child.

When a child cuts itself, or is otherwise injured, a sympathetic adult may perform the katawe (p. 272) on his own hand to help the child to endure its pain. Not infrequently remedies applied to adults for such purposes are also applied to children (cf. p. 326).

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

No Araucanian was known to be color blind. "Certainly everybody can recognize all the colors." Both men and women were known who were left-handed. "I have seen men use a hammer or an ax with the left hand, as I do with the right hand. Occasionally you see a woman hold the scissors with her left hand when cutting, as other women do with the right hand."

No informant knew of a mute or a deaf child, or a stutterer; one person, hard of hearing since babyhood, was mentioned. "I know that there are Argentine children like that. But I certainly never had any fears that one of my children would not be able to hear or speak, and speak well."

ADOPTIONS, CAPTIVES

Children were not formally adopted, but it was not unusual for a child, especially an orphaned one or one from a broken home, to be reared by its grandparents or some other close relative. During my observations an 80-year-old woman was rearing the child of a son because its mother was "so stupid that she was not even capable of doing her own washing." The old woman was also rearing an illegitimate son of the same woman, a feebleminded 14-year-old boy; the woman's son would not tolerate the boy in his house.

As previously stated (p. 265), it was believed that adults who spoke of small children, especially babies, could expect someone in the kinship group to bring them a child to rear, most likely a grandchild.

Araucanians took Argentines as captives and were themselves taken as captives. This occurred during the years when the Argentine Government, through its army, was conquering the lands occupied and claimed by the Araucanians. An informant whose father was an

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wives took turns doing these. At extraordinary work, however, such as skinning animals or shearing sheep, all worked jointly. "My father had three wives that were not sisters to each other; they all lived in one toldo, but very agreeably so."

If husband and wife differed to the extent of quarreling, the wife generally gave in eventually. "If she would not keep still or do what her husband wanted her to do, things ended by the man hitting her." Instances where husband and wife did not live peacefully together were related by women who had been ill-treated by their husbands.

A disagreement sometimes reached the stage where the husband nearly killed his wife; but no case was recalled where a woman hanged herself to be relieved of an impossible marital situation. Causes for serious quarrels were drunkenness on the husband's part, infidelity or neglect of work on the wife's. "It is that way today," said an old woman. "My son often scolds his wife—I hear him. Then his wife complains to me. But I have noticed that she neglects her work; she is really stupid. I say to her, 'You are married and you must try to get along with your husband; and you must be prepared to suffer a little, too.'"

Children were loved by parents—in fact, by adults in general—and had much freedom within the family. No one child was given preference over others; all were expected to do their share of the work as soon as they were able to, and were held to their duty of doing so.

During this study children were seen with parents, grandparents, or other adult relatives everywhere, and they always seemed happy. Young mothers fondled their children and played with them. One tied a strand of grass about her baby's hair to keep it out of its eyes. While doing so she talked to the baby, and the baby jumped up and down on her lap, chattering. Another young mother repeatedly kissed her child and tickled it to make it laugh. Later the child sat on her lap, cooing to itself. Still later it toddled to an empty bucket, dropped something into it, and looked at its grandmother with surprise. The grandmother, too, put on a look of surprise and said, "What are you doing?" The child then laughed gleefully, and all present laughed with amusement. A young woman was rearing four children of her first marriage and three of her second (her first husband having died). All her children appeared happy, and, according to neighbors, no distinction was being made by the woman and her husband between the children of the two marriages.

Parents provided food, clothing, and shelter for their children; trained them in the mores of the people; taught them work expected

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of them as grown-ups; chose a mate in marriage for each, and provided the exchange of marriage gifts.

The respect shown by children to parents was noteworthy. Parents spoke of young unmarried sons and daughters, gainfully employed, who gave part or all of their earnings to the general support of the family. They also spoke of the obedience of children; complaints about children were rare.

In general, children of a family were agreeable among themselves; quarrelsome ones were corrected, and sometimes punished. Children of simultaneous wives were taught to get along together. "We were like brothers and sisters; parents did not allow their children not to like one another; we had great respect for one another." There were no taboos regarding brother–sister relationships, such as speaking to each other or being in each other's presence.

CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR

CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

Formerly a girl's hair was not cut but was worn in braids; today most girls have it cut. A boy has always worn his cut; "it was cut like one cuts wool off a sheep." It was cut for the first time when he was 2 to 3 years old.

Most children seen were clean and had the appearance of being well cared for; an occasional one had hair disheveled and face dirty. In general, when at home, children were barefoot and wore mended and faded clothes; in schools, villages, or in homes where visitors were expected, they wore better clothes, and usually shoes. (See pls. 62-67 for children.)

SIGHT AND HEARING OF THE CHILD

Non-Araucanians spoke of the keen sense of sight and hearing of Araucanian children, and of adults, as well. "If they have once seen a horse, they can tell its tracks wherever they see them. Consequently, they can often tell you from a horse's tracks what person passed down the road or path," said an estancia owner who employed Araucanians. A cow or horse that has strayed into a herd of several hundred, or a strange sheep in a large flock, is immediately spotted by them. Children that accompanied the writer through woods and over meadows sighted hidden flowers in crevices, commented on unusually tall grass, and on colors of stones lying at a distance. Insects were identified by their buzzing and birds by their songs and call notes, and both were accurately mimicked.

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Kolupan, "and then notice that she had a little one. Or a man might kill a guanaco, and then see its little orphaned offspring. Such a little animal was taken home and there raised by the children. It became their pet. It might walk away from home, some distance into the open country, but it would always return to the children." Today, an occasional child has a pet animal, such as a kitten, cat, dog, or chicken (pl. 63, *e*).

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SWIMMING, HORSEBACK RIDING

In the early days all children learned to swim; at present, in general, only boys do so. At the time of my visit, 70-year-old women swam, but their 20-year-old granddaughters did not know how. All children in the early days rode horseback, and many do so today.

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HEALTH

PREVENTIVES OF ILL HEALTH; CAUSES OF ILL HEALTH, PHYSICAL AND MENTAL

Children, it was believed, would develop robust bodies if they were breast fed, always bathed in cold water, made to go without food in the early part of the day, given much raw meat to eat, and made to walk barefoot. "My father was brought up that way; he lived to be 130 years old and was never sick at any time in his life. How our young Araucanians of today will keep well is difficult to say; they are given coffee with milk early in the morning, and marmalade, too! And no raw meat!" Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians spoke of Araucanians older than 100 years who had never been sick. "At present my eyes bother me; they feel sore," said an informant older than 100 years. She maintained her own house, cooked her own meals, kept chickens, and spun yarn, "but I cannot weave any more; my arms get too tired now when I weave." Deep wrinkles crisscrossed her face; her hair was slightly gray, and she had lost most of her teeth.

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Causes of ill health lay in sorcery. Quoting Kolupan: "When sickness comes upon you, someone has done you harm; witches (kalku) have done it. There are always a few persons around that have the powers of witchcraft. They either put poison into your food, or, when they are not where the food is, they do harm from a distance. If an antidote can be obtained early, you can get well again; if not, you will have to die. Most herbalists and machis know which plants to use or what to do as an antidote." He then told the following as an example of how the cause of sickness could be discovered: "This happened when I was a child. Oh!, someone whom no one ever saw

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593 ment to people of her husband's group. This period is much easier for her if she has real or classificatory sisters living on her husband's reservation or nearby. It is, however, the time when her husband, although perhaps most demonstratively affectionate to her, actually has least in common with her. Young husbands seem to yield their bachelor freedom with reluctance, and while sagacious wives are not supposed to upbraid them for this, they complain that the earliest years of marriage are least satisfying.

[851] After the birth of the first child a woman has much to busy her and to comfort her. It is at this time that she feels more at ease in her husband's natal community.

A man derives much satisfaction from the companionship of his wife. It is common for a man to call his wife by the Araucanized term *kompañ* (*compañero-a*). During leisure hours, at mealtimes, and [521] often long into the night a man and woman carry on almost endless conversations, exchanging news and gossip, talking about their children and relatives, planning the next day's activities and social visits, and the like.

593 A woman is apparently more submissive to her husband's authority 851 before the birth of children. Once a child has been born to the couple, the wife's position in the household is enhanced since it is she who assumes the major role in the care and control of the infant. This is not to say that there comes about a balance of authority, but the woman firmly establishes herself in the highly respected role of mother, which entitles her to privileges she would not otherwise be able to acquire and strengthens her relationship with her husband's lineage.

593 When a child is born it is wholly welcomed by the parents, who [855] dote on it. As far as my observations go, older children are generally gleeful about the new arrival. At least this was the case in two households in which I lived where children were born during my stay, and it seems not to have been contradicted by the other instances I was able to observe.

854 Although there is some sharing of responsibilities for the care and comfort of the infant by both parents, as well as by some of the older children, it is the mother who plays the major role in direct satisfaction of its needs. In consideration for the mother's extra labors, the 846 husband is likely to shoulder some of the domestic chores such as pro- 593 viding wood for the ever-going fire, fetching water, tending to the cook pot, and the like. If there are other children capable of per-

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forming these chores, the father will delegate them according to ability, sex, and age qualifications, or else the mother will direct the household management from her bed. In any case, a husband tends to relieve his wife of major duties during accouchement. Sometimes husbands make a cradle for the newborn child, although this is usually done in anticipation several months before delivery. Rattles and gewgaws might also be made by the father or other members of the household, as well as by friends and relatives who visit to see the baby and congratulate the parents.

A man seems to enjoy crooning to his newborn child and spends a good deal of his leisure time caressing it and holding it after the mother has returned to her normal household routine. Parents are quite patient with children, rarely speaking harshly to them or slapping them. While there is variation in handling children who are older, treatment of small babies seems to be uniformly gentle, if not consistently affectionate. Both father and mother take turns soothing a squalling infant. As long as there are infants in the household, a father is necessarily involved in such activities. I saw an instance in which a man soothed three toddlers at once each night during the two months I was a guest in his house. Not only did he demonstrate utmost patience, but he attempted to tell them instructive stories all the while—little of which I am sure they were able to understand.

So much attention is given infants and they are caressed so openly that it seems not unreasonable to think that the display of affection toward them is an outlet for the traditionally suppressed feelings between husband and wife which characterize all but the first months or earliest years of most marriages. The relationship between husband and wife surely alters perceptibly after children are born and companionship replaces the afore-mentioned romantic and otherwise atypical behavior, such as holding hands and singing love songs.

As the family increases, so does the mother's status within it. This depends on her importance in caring for the younger children and training them in the tasks they will perform during childhood and early adolescence. The husband openly recognizes his wife's importance in these matters, which reaffirms the cooperative relationship that is the keystone of family structure. Socialization, practical education, the channeling of anger, envy, possessiveness, and so forth devolve mainly upon the mother during the period when her children are young. She mediates to a great extent the attitudes and

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grow older, competence is demanded by both parents, who express considerable annoyance if chores are not performed well. 861 [868]

Parental annoyance does not often lead to physical punishment. Children are seldom punished, although often scolded. Parents and grandparents suffer a small child to hit them in a tantrum or playfully, telling them "No! No! Don't be naughty." As children grow older, they might be cuffed or whipped by their father, rarely by their mother. There is nothing systematic about this sort of punishment. It seems to occur in a fit of parental temper, which is suppressed when the child is young. [865]

A mother enjoys suckling her children and gives them the breast to soothe them. It is not uncommon to see children with a full set of teeth taking their mother's breast under certain circumstances, often when the mother and child are away from home and the child is tired and restless. I have seen it occur at funerals, weddings, and religious ceremonies at which children whom I had previously thought were weaned took the breast along with a newborn sibling. It is said that in days of polygynous households co-wives took turns nursing each other's children, but as far as I could discover (and there were no nursing children in any of the polygynous households I visited), this does not occur today unless the mother has no milk or is otherwise indisposed. In that case the child is sometimes nursed by a relative or close friend or sometimes fed gruel or canned milk, there being little fresh milk available on the reservations. 853 [595]

Both mother and father take an interest in their children's toilet training, although the mother has the most responsibility simply because she is with them more than the father. The Mapuche are not rigid in this training and apparently are not disturbed by a child's soiling himself and the floor. Either the mother or the father sweeps or scrapes the excrement outside and cleans the child with a wet cloth. 863

One aspect of a child's early upbringing about which parents seem rather stringent, at least in contrast to their permissive attitudes in other respects, is in discouraging children from crawling. While there is some variation in the way this is done, one of the parents usually sets the child upon its feet or takes it in his lap. Formerly, children were trained in most households by means of a set of parallel sticks of bamboo serving as handholds along which the child could guide himself. 856 [861]

If the mother is the primary disciplinarian, she is also the main 855

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

855 source of comfort and security during the early years of childhood, despite the father's willingness to pamper and fondle his youngest children in his spare time. This is partly due to the fact that a father is often too occupied with other matters during most of the day. Children are generally within their mother's sight throughout the day, even though playing outside the *ruka*.

855 857 Disputes between children are settled somewhat authoritatively by their mother if she is annoyed at the disturbance they are making. Otherwise a mother will take a good deal of time in settling their differences, listening to the disputants and giving her judgments on a fair settlement. This is also true for the father, and, in general, parental action in such matters might be described as "rational," explanation rather than dictum being the characteristic way of settling squabbles among their children—at least until parental patience is exhausted.

868 When a girl reaches the age of ten or twelve, her mother or older sister devotes more serious attention to her instruction in domestic duties. For one thing, she will be taught how to prepare a complete meal rather than merely assisting with part of it. She begins to take over more responsibility in household management. Mothers boast [52] of their daughters' ability and, apparently to dissemble their feelings of pride, tend to complain about certain lacks. They find fault with details or else complain of something which is done almost perfectly, by way of indicating that their daughter customarily does much better.

If a girl has recently learned to prepare and bake bread she is usually open to some uncomplimentary remarks from her siblings in [152] regard to her efforts and the quality of the bread. This embarrasses her considerably, and she might break into tears or run from the house. These are trials for the girl, and she must weather them over an extended period. She will be reminded of her failings periodically. Her mother offers her some consolation and suggests ways in which she might improve herself, but she does not coddle her. If her first attempt goes very badly, the girl might not consent to try her hand again for a long time. This is generally condoned by the mother. If the girl manifests extreme obdurateness, however, her mother's patience wears thin and a minor family crisis might result. The teasing remarks and grimaces of her siblings complicate the girl's difficulties. In time all girls become fairly proficient in cooking and baking, although there are differences between sisters in the quality of certain

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality, however, we must pass from the narrow confines of the single household, and from the rather clear-cut authoritarian relationship between father and son, to the larger social aggregate. Whatever Mapuche religion might have been in the past, today it is not characteristically a household religion. It has its important familial aspect, but the full significance of Mapuche religious morality is seen only with respect to the larger congregation which, for any individual, is lineage-based. One's spiritual connection to this larger group is mediated by one's father and grandfather, and so on back to and beyond the authentic founder of the maximal lineage. The precise intermediate links of one person are of relatively little importance to members of collateral sublineages. The spiritual bond linking the entire lineage group into a ritual entity is, for all members, directly with a ritually important ancestor. So, collateral lines converge. But one's most intimate ties with the ritual group are figured through a direct succession of males, a succession which cannot be the same for all members of the lineage. 613 771

A man does not consider his father or even his grandfather to be a god. He stands in awe of his father's spirit and fears that if he does not propitiate it properly, some evil may befall him. His grandfather's spirit is even more venerated and awesome. But ancestral deification is the product of generations of forgetfulness and fabrication. It takes time for the ancestral myth to mature. In terms of lineage structure, one ancestral spirit replaces that of another still more removed ancestor, or the qualities of both tend to fuse. The structure telescopes at approximately the sixth or seventh generations, but stories about the founding ancestor may actually describe events, such as war exploits and contacts with certain historically identifiable Spanish and other European groups, that took place in the early nineteenth or late eighteenth centuries. 769 613 [174]

In the household, practical instruction is received from one's father and mother. But, strikingly, children receive little instruction in traditional moral lore from their parents. This knowledge is acquired informally, for the most part, from the grandfather or his surrogate (e.g. any *laku*). The grandchild and his father are both exposed to this kind of instruction simultaneously, the father's prior knowledge being reshaped continually as his child 867 603 593 [855].